

PEACE NEWS

LONDON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, 1940.

2d.

No. 189.

WHAT HOPE FOR MANKIND?

Destruction, or Progress Towards A More Civilized World

IS mankind doomed to rattle down into barbarism and death, or shall a finer world arise?

Some days ago we read in our papers that a boy had fallen into a Canal, and that a man and woman had been drowned in trying to rescue him. The woman couldn't even swim.

We know that again and again the call of another human being in distress will cause people to risk, and often to lose, their lives in the effort to save those who are complete strangers, very often of other nationalities or of so-called alien races. The enormous strength, the spontaneous working of this urge to help is most remarkable. Through it human beings prove their essential oneness with other human beings everywhere.

"What piece of work is a man!" For these very same human beings who will die to save others are at this moment using every effort to kill others!

It is very important that we pacifists should take stock of the forces which are working for life and of the forces which are working for destruction. He who seeks peace in the midst of a warring world is apt to feel himself estranged from the community in which he lives and tempted to despair. He is told that his hopes are wishful thinking, his ideas utopian, that in fact he ought to buck up and be a realist.

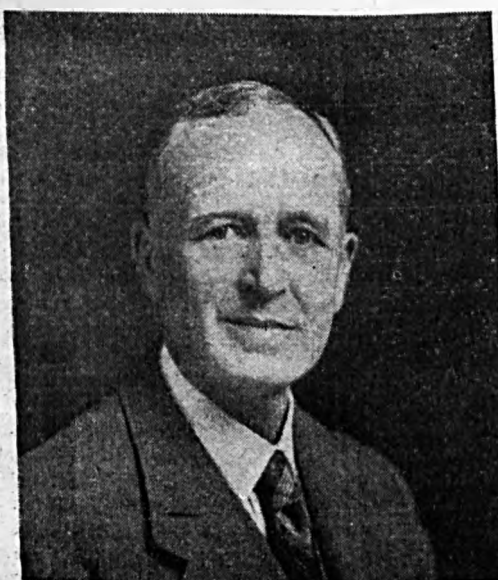
But people forget that the realist is the person who looks in the face, not some of the facts but all of them. Aldous Huxley says in *Ends and Means* that our sense of separation from one another is largely fallacious. But in war-time the facts which witness to human, as distinguished from national, solidarity are constantly being ignored.

Let us view the picture as fairly as we can. Man has deep-seated urges to save his fellow-man and is also being driven to destroy him. Which set of urges will prevail?

Want Peace, Get War

Almost everybody in the world most of the time wants peace—peace at least under such conditions as suit himself.

Clearly a mere desire for peace is not enough to secure it. For, men who desire peace follow paths of acquisitiveness and competition which lead to war. Also they have grudges and hatreds which find convenient outlet in war. They don't see how to get the better world they want without war, even though war is the very thing which is destroying the prospect of that better world.



MAURICE L. ROWNTREE, who is Hon. Treasurer of the PPU, and one of its advisers on policy.

Why is it that the man who is ready to perish in the attempt to rescue his brother-man will ruin him commercially or obey the order to shoot him?

If somebody is struggling in the water his human need is so obvious that the

By
**MAURICE L.
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instinct to save is at once called forth. If that same person is struggling in the commercial scramble his rival doesn't at all recognize his need in the same way.

If the man goes bankrupt, his rival may perhaps give him a shilling, but when he is struggling in business-rivalry against him the man's human need is obscured by his rival's fear for his own position, and his rival's fear for his own position, and acting imposed upon him by current and commercial codes of immorality. When the commercial scramble, reinforced by personal and national rivalries, desires for revenge, &c., breaks out in war, tradition and fear cause the herd-instinct to emphasize national solidarity at the expense of human solidarity.

Yet so strong is the underlying human instinct that men who have been firing at one another will fraternize at Christmas, or rescue their enemies when they are struggling in the sea.

Kindle Men's Imagination

We see then that men are often willing enough to exercise chivalry at least so far as the code of honour of their herd permits them. Beyond the limits of that code their imagination usually fails to function.

But codes of honour are constantly changing. The basic problem is surely so to awaken men's imagination that their instinctive feeling of solidarity finds effective expression.

It is here that the exploration and wide-spread proclamation of man's immense, but hitherto so largely neglected, powers for good, to which Christianity and other great religions bear witness, find their immense opportunity. Public opinion is being constantly re-formed, and we pacifists ought to be taking a leading part in its re-formation.

But vision unless it is to degenerate into sentiment, must issue in action and transformation of society. Owing to the strength of vested interests and old traditions the task before us is immense, but let us never forget that even statesmen and financiers are human beings much like ourselves.

Fettered they may be by the codes and traditions of their class and nation, but within them are the same possibilities, the same urges to rescue their fellow-men in

need as we find in ourselves. If once their imagination can be kindled, it can be shown them that their true interests lie in the direction of world-peace and of that human solidarity which includes justice for all and good will for all.

Formidable our task certainly is, hopeless it is not.

One of the biggest difficulties for those of us who would fulfil that task is to realize fully our oneness with the community, especially with our political opponents.

If we would convince them of the truth we see we must realize our essential oneness with them as human beings, for only thus can we find the common ground upon which to proceed together.

All of us start off by being enormously biased in favour of our own feelings and our own views. To me, of course, my feelings are natural and right, my views sensible just because they are my own. And therefore I think well of myself and of my opinions.

If people say I am a fool or a cad I bristle up—my self-esteem is wounded. If, however, they say that Tom Smith or Mary Jones (not you, of course, reader) is a fool or a cad, secretly I am apt to be rather pleased because I can tick off Tom Smith or Mary Jones as a cut below my noble self.

To change my views is painful and hard; to realize that my desires are selfish or mean is a shock to my self-esteem. But if T. S. or M. J. alter their silly views or mean desires, that is excellent, and no trouble to me.

(Continued on back page)

Changed Values

IN the adjacent article Maurice Rowntree emphasizes the importance of man's instinctive urge to help a fellow-man in danger, and points out that the things which unite all men are often forgotten in war-time. An illustration of this occurred last week.

On Friday it was announced in Berlin that four officers and 26 men had been rescued from three British submarines lost in the Heligoland Bight.

Most newspapers carried this announcement. Only the "Daily Telegraph," however, added: "Salvage work is continuing and there is considerable hope that more men may be rescued."

What lies behind that brief announcement? Another piece of salvage work as desperate as that which followed the Thetis disaster? If so, why has the press not shown as much interest in it this time?

For Thirteen Pieces of Copper



He is twenty.

He joined the Army three years ago, more "to see the world" than for any other reason. One cannot always see the world the way one would choose. Certainly he had not thought of what the Army really meant. That came later.

It came with the realization, inseparable from Army training, that he was nothing but part of a vast killing-machine. The full impact was felt only with the war—and was associated not with danger, but the deaths of comrades for, as far as he could see, no rhyme or reason.

But escape is out of the question. In peace-time it is sufficiently difficult—and he has tried every way except actual desertion. In war-time it is out of the question.

With thousands more, he is caught in a trap, cleverly enough baited for youth. But he wants to warn all who can to avoid it, though, for reasons sufficiently obvious, he can only be known as "the anonymous photographer."

250,000 Oppose Conscription, War

THE No Conscription League, which was founded in February, 1939, when it became apparent that the Government intended to introduce some measure of Military Conscription, to-day has an individual membership of over 6,000 organized in about 100 branches, and an affiliated membership of over a quarter of a million represented by 700 Trade Unions, Co-operative, Labour, Socialist and Pacifist organizations, linked to it either nationally or locally," Mr. Will Morris, secretary of the League, tells *Peace News*.

"At the same time," says Mr. Morris, "the scope of the League's activities has necessarily been extended to oppose not merely Conscription but the war itself, and all that network of restrictions with which the ruling class must enmesh the workers if it is to wage effective war against totalitarian Germany."

He cited as examples of this anti-working-class legislation the exemption of workshops from the operation of the Factories Act, 1937, by Regulation 59 of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Regulations; and Regulations 12 to 15, which prohibit entry to "protected places" and to the vicinity of "protected places" except under written permit.

"These might be used to prevent the entry of Trade Union officials into such places for the purpose of negotiation, and to prevent peaceful picketing on the premises or land so scheduled."

STOP PRESS

A Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"

Blockade as Bar to Peace :: Removing Obstacles to Settlement :: Replies to Anti-Pacifist Bishop

BOTH the Church, in both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury, and the State, in both Houses of Parliament, discussed the economic war on Wednesday. It has, unfortunately, long been customary for both to see eye to eye. Yet it must still have shocked many who see in Christianity the hope of the world to find the Church at one with the State in withholding food from the enemy.

The Bishop of Birmingham (having already actually secured the passage of a resolution in the Upper House of Convocation urging Christians everywhere to "work and pray for a just and durable peace") moved that the Archbishop of Canterbury be asked "to petition the Government so to adjust the blockade as to allow the free importation of foodstuffs into Germany." He specifically reminded the House of the precept, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him."

Suggestions that the Germans really have plenty of food, that it would be "extremely unwise" to pass the resolution, that Germany is trying to do the same to us, that it is good international law, and that anyhow it is really impracticable to try to discriminate between "food for its people and food for its guns" will have been unconvincing (to say the least) to those who regard Christian precepts as the only wisdom, law, and practical politics.

Yet it was one of the Archbishop of Canterbury's remarks that surely went pretty near to the heart of the matter. Arguments against the blockade, he said, were really arguments against war itself. Exactly!

"Encouraging"

BUT the argument is not only a Christian argument against war. Even in a material sense it is not really practical politics to carry war into the enemy's home in this way.

Mr. Cross, Minister of Economic Warfare, described the progress of the economic war, in the first survey of it in the House of Commons last week, as "encouraging." He said Germany was now "in something like the same economic stress" that she was in in 1916. Conditions of life were "strained."

Quite apart from mere condemnation, arising out of humanitarian feelings, such a policy must fill with dismay those whose eyes are on the hope of peace. For it needs little imagination to realize the effect it must have.

There is, first, the immediate effect. The Times itself, on the same day as the statement in the House, quoted a remarkable testimony by the special correspondent of a Belgian paper to the way in which Allied "propaganda" (and such actions as the blockade speak immeasurably louder than mere words) has made the German people "convinced that the war is a 'social' one" and determined to fight it "to a victorious finish" with or without Hitler.

If it is thus tragic that the very weapon that is praised as being the one thing that will hasten the end of the war is, in fact, ensuring its continuance, it is positively suicidal when considered from the point of view of the new world which we still claim to be intending to build whenever the war does end. For even if we did manage to save something of our ideals from the wreckage even of victory, the Germans are hardly likely to be able to save (still less, to gain) such ideals from defeat.

But in addition to the worst possible condition of a revenge-determined people, there would be the incalculable destruction and impoverishment that would make a beaten Germany a heavy burden on Europe and the world for many years instead of the freely co-operating partner she will have to be before a Europe free from war can be built up.

It is sound common sense to stop a blockade which can only have that kind of result. If that means stopping the war, so much the better for all concerned, for then the problems (which would of course remain) could be talked over and settled properly.

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THE two important speeches by Cabinet Ministers last Saturday throw little light on the prospects for peace.

Mr. Churchill one was glad to note, in

trying a new line, struck a less objectionable note than he managed to strike last time he broadcast. But the neutral countries, to whom he appealed for help, have indicated that there is "nothing doing."

We do not, of course, like to think that the ideals which prompt so many to pursue this war are questionable, and little useful purpose is perhaps served by making the suggestion to those who hold them most strongly. Yet it is a simple fact that the general opinion in the smaller neutral countries—which certainly are as anti-Nazi as anyone here—is reported to be definitely sceptical of our sincerity. They remember their bitter experience of our League policy, and must have thought it a grim joke of Mr. Churchill's to suggest that they should now "do their duty in accordance with the Covenant of the League and stand together with the British and French Empires."

Lord Halifax did not seem to be much more hopeful of anything but continuing the war, though he did say that "the only reason why peace cannot be made tomorrow is that the German Government have not yet given any evidence of their readiness to repair the damage wrought upon the weaker nations, or of their capacity to convince the world that any pledge would be kept."

Perhaps it would not be so very difficult to remove that "only reason," if the German Government could be approached, told what precise measures would in our view "repair the damage" (since full restoration of the status quo ante is generally agreed to be out of the question), and given real reason to trust our good intentions. And why not overcome the second difficulty by asking the neutrals to take part in peace making rather than in war making?

In his last statement on the war last week, it is worth recalling, Mr. Chamberlain himself said, "We in this country hope, as do the peoples of every nation, that the just and lasting peace which we are seeking will not be long delayed."

Conference on Peace Aims

AN important series of round-table conferences on the question of peace aims organized, by the National Peace Council, is to commence in London on January 29.

The conferences are not to be open to the public or the press, but are intended to give leading representatives of the peace organizations an opportunity for close and informal discussion of the problems involved in the realization of a desirable peace settlement and a new international order.

The three conferences so far arranged are to deal with the economic aspects of a peace settlement; imperialism and world order; and the future of international government including, of course, the problems raised by the Federal proposal. The discussions are intended to be consultative in character, but the conferences are to have the assistance of a group of experts including G. D. H. Cole, Norman Bentwich, W. Arthur Lewis, Sir Norman Angell, Barbara Wootton and, it is hoped, P. W. Martin (of the ILO Secretariat). They will have the capable chairmanship of the Rev. Henry Carter and Dr. C. E. M. Joad.

A valuable series of reports are expected to emerge and additional discussions are, I understand, in course of preparation.

Post-War Conscription?

R. S. W. POLLARD writes:

"The Times on January 16, after reviewing the advantages of conscription, said:

"These facts should be remembered when the need for compulsory military service has passed away; for they suggest that even in time of peace a system of universal service might well come to be considered an indispensable part

of our educational system."

"Pacifists will note this suggestion that conscription shall be enforced in peacetime, but I would suggest that it might be well to put forward more than a blank negative in opposition."

"When the Military Training Act came into force there is no doubt that many of the young conscripts enjoyed the change in their lives and their new companionship. Could not pacifists suggest, instead of compulsory military service, a similar period of constructive service for the community. This could provide an outlet for youths' need of adventure and companionship."

"I raise the matter now as it is important to work out the opposition to the continuance of conscription in advance."

Pacifists as War-Mongers!

WE are used by now to church leaders who support the war, and who say that pacifists are in error. It is still something of a novelty for a bishop to carry his views to the point of blaming pacifists for the war. Yet that is what the Bishop of Grantham, Dr. Markham, did when preaching at the ceremony of lodging regimental colours at Lincoln Cathedral on the Sunday before last.

Liberty was won after a four years' struggle in the last war, he said. He regretted and repudiated that shallow sentimentality that had led so many to despise the Services as barbarian and un-Christian in calling, and to regard their gallant sacrifice in the last war as a vast mistake and folly.

"It is my firm belief, based on good evidence," he added, "that these people—pacifists is the name they go by—are more responsible than anybody else for the fact that we are once again involved in war."

The bishop has provoked several comments. Some have reached *Peace News*, one at least has been sent to him direct, and yet another appeared in the *Daily Mirror*.

One reader of *Peace News* declared that "If this be Christianity, then indeed we are lost." Another, with delightful irony,

carried the bishop's argument to its "logical" conclusion and referred to "these monsters"—pacifists!—"who have been secretly beating the ploughshares into swords." He adds that it is "comforting to feel that we shall be doing a Christian act in shooting and bayoneting other men, and that we can go forth to battle doubly armed, since the noble bishop has shown us so clearly the way we should go."

A Sheffield reader, in a letter to the bishop, challenged him to prove the truth of his statement, and pointed to the part played by the Versailles Treaty, to which pacifists were bitterly opposed.

In the *Daily Mirror* "Cassandra" contrasted the bishop's words with a recent utterance by the Rev. B. C. Hopson, a North London pacifist vicar who had urged a united Christian witness against "the foul sin and crime and insanity and stupidity of continuing the war." This was "Cassandra's" comment:

"If it is a choice between the bishop's anti-pacifism or the vicar's unusual views on ending the war, give me the vicar every time. There is something extremely distasteful about the Church pouring contempt on the efforts of people who, although they may be misguided, cannot legitimately be accused of being responsible for starting this beastly crime."

More Humanity?

FOLLOWING were the results (published in the *News Chronicle*) of a poll taken by the British Institute of Public Opinion on the question: "Would you like to see the RAF bombing enemy military objectives, even if it means that the Germans would bomb back?"

"Yes"	52%
"No"	41%
"Don't know"	7%

A correspondent suggests that this is proof of the spread of "basic-pacifism," or humanitarianism. Though some might be disappointed at the fact that only 41 per cent registered abhorrence of offensive bombing tactics, he considers the figures were highly encouraging.

I might add that they are a significant commentary on the spirit of the people after nearly five months of war. But those who are working to stop the war should appreciate that this mood would change if the much-heralded spring offensive became a reality. Which is all the more reason for intensifying efforts for peace now.

John Middleton Murry on

"PEACE-TRAPS" AGAIN

NOT often nowadays, except when I am in London, does a news vendor press me to buy a paper. Generally, when I dash out of the train to get one at my nearest station-bookstall, I am told rather curtly that there aren't any. Were it not for my daily ration of *The Times*, I should by now have lost all contact with the great newspaper press.

So when the other day at Brandon—that centre of neolithic munitions-making, where flints are still knapped—someone came to the door of the carriage and positively asked me to buy a paper, I was stunned into acquiescence, even though I suspected he might want twopenny for a penny one. But no! He handed me the *News Chronicle* at the pre-war price.

I have an affection for the *News Chronicle*. It was kind to me when I was a young man. Also I first met Max Plowman on the stairs of it. And Robert Lynd, with his blackthorn stick, was much less severe towards me in those days—round about 1912—than he has since become. For sentimental reasons of this kind, I cherish a vague notion (which I seldom put to the test of experiment) that the *News Chronicle* will not jar upon me unduly.

Golly! I am still rubbing my eyes over the leader, which bade me "Beware of Traps!" The traps turned out to be anything that makes for peace. That reminds me—of what I had till this moment completely forgotten—that one of the great slogans of the Northcliffe Press in 1917 was

"Peace-traps!" In 1917, when a negotiated peace might still have saved the world. All that has happened in the interval is that the *News Chronicle* has shifted itself bodily on to the grand old Northcliffe ground.

"A drawn war with the Nazis still in the saddle would be a victory for Hitler. Germans would point to his success compared with that of the Kaiser, and Nazism would be established in Europe for a generation." Such is the culmination of the *News Chronicle's* masterly argument. Mr. Winston Churchill could not do better.

The writer never dreams of asking the simple question whether, even if Nazism were established in Europe for a generation, the wastage of humanity would not be a thousand times less than that of two more years of this war. He never dreams of asking how the Nazis are to be unhorsed, except by "victory"; or what, in the event of victory, the Nazis will be unhorsed by. A democratic Germany, partitioned à la française?

It can only be that the leader-writer of the *News Chronicle* has given up thinking. "A drawn war would be a victory for Hitler." "A drawn war would be a victory." While I retain my sanity, in order to which I shall keep clear of the *News Chronicle*, I shall go on believing that a drawn war is just a drawn war, and that it is infinitely the best thing that could happen, provided it happens soon.

Welshmen Who Renounce War

IT has been suggested in the sketch of Welsh history up to the XXth Century that there had been a deep difference between the political and the religious approach to peace. The former envisaged getting up to impersonal power, the latter getting down to personal need and conscience.

The methods of a Minister of State and of a Minister of the Gospel are vitally different, in that the former is prepared to coerce where he cannot persuade, while the latter may only convert by persuasion and example.

This was brought out very clearly in the days of the South African war.

The *Life of Emily Hobhouse* reveals that after a visit to South Africa and its Concentration Camps for the Boer women and children moved from their burned farms she found that over 20,000 had died in less than a year. The mortality rate for some months had been as high as 430 per 1,000 per annum.

AFTER doing what she could by personal and public appeal to arouse the Government to prevent the tragedy, it is recorded that she spent two hours with Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, who was deeply distressed and concerned by her disclosures. That week he made the famous speech which included the words: "When is a war not a war? When it is carried on by methods of barbarism in South Africa."

It was said that he had "done for himself" as leader of any Party in the opinion of the City. Yet it was General Botha who said eight years after: "After all, three words made peace and union in South Africa. 'Methods of barbarism.' The fact that a leader of one of the great English parties had had the courage to say this thing and to brave the obloquy which it brought upon him, so far from encouraging the Boers to a hopeless resistance, it touched their hearts and made them think seriously of the possibility of reconciliation."

The initiative and appeal of Emily Hobhouse was personal, but it had the mightiest political effects.

In the mass political reactions against the South African war, the original Pacifist conviction was confused and lost by the projection of all the blame upon the Tory Party for partisan reasons. It is difficult to realize that Mr. Lloyd George, the Radical and Pacifist who attacked Dagon in his Temple in Birmingham and barely escaped with his life from the mob, should have become later the statesman of the knock-out-blow policy against Germany.

PACIFIST pioneers of the ILP, like Bruce Glasier and Keir Hardie, found their strongest supporters in Wales among men awakened to human betterment by the Welsh revival of 1905. Hardie himself found a safe seat in the Pacifist tradition and constituency of Henry Richard at Merthyr, until he was howled down during the last war by a patriotic crowd at Aberdare.

The failure of the Socialist International to resist war and the defection of the Labour Party had weighed heavily upon him, but it was his rejection by his own constituents that finally broke that bravest and best of the prophets of the workers.

Some time before his death Hardie made the following confession: "My friends and comrades, I sometimes feel sick at heart with politics and all that pertains thereto. If I were a thirty years younger man thinks I would leave house and home and wife and child to preach the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ."

The *Dinesydd* (The Citizen) in North Wales and *The Darian* and the *Merthyr Pioneer* in the South, at the cost of great courage and sacrifice by their Editors remained steadfastly Pacifist throughout the war, and many of the ILP members were COs.

The anti-war reaction began early in Merthyr and centred around the personality of the Rev. John Morgan Jones, scholar, philosopher and prophet. It was in Merthyr as early as 1915, when Pacifists could scarcely get a hearing elsewhere, that great public meetings under his chairmanship welcomed the refugees of Peace—Ponsonby, Trevelyan, Bertrand Russell and MacDonald.

This is the second of two articles on Pacifism in Wales, in which the origin, work and personalities of the Movement in the West are described

by G. M. Ll. DAVIES

who is President of Heddychwyr Cymru (Peace Pledge Union, Welsh Region).

Succeeding years took Pacifists to Parliament by overwhelming majorities in South Wales. But again it was the reaction of the crowd rather than the conviction of persons. The ILP had crowded to hear Morgan Jones preach against war, but had crowded out again when he continued to preach as clearly against the spirit and methods of the Class War. "The Government" had replaced "the Germans" as "the enemy."

TODAY there is no political Party in Wales opposed to war except the Welsh Nationalist Party which, by a majority, has renounced war as a policy, and has adopted Mr. Gandhi's methods of non-violence.

The burning of the Aerodrome in the Llyn Peninsula by three leaders of the Party, after all protests and appeals to the Government against it had failed, was an act of great courage and self-sacrifice involving long imprisonment, but how far it accords with Mr. Gandhi's method and the spirit of non-violence which he says is indispensable, has caused much heart-searching in Wales.

Apart from this, it is the religious opposition to war that has survived and deepened in the last twenty-five years. Pacifist veterans like Morgan Jones and Puleston Jones with wide scholarship and deep convictions; intellectual leaders like Principal Tom Rees and Principal Morgan Jones and Professor Herbert Morgan; denominational leaders like Dr. E. K. Jones and the Rev. Wre Lewis have so influenced the religious "remnant" and particularly the present generation of younger Ministers, that all the Nonconformist bodies in Wales have declared clearly against the compatibility of war with Christianity. COs receive sympathy and support from them, and their number is proportionately higher than in any part of the Kingdom.

FOLLOWING Mr. Lloyd George's plea at Carnarvon for a declaration of peace terms and the calling of a world Peace Conference before further slaughter, a delegate conference summoned by Heddychwyr Cymru (Welsh Peace Pledge Union) from the Churches of North Wales brought together over 500 people. The earnestness and depth of feeling and conviction that the Christian Church must itself think out and speak out the "way of Peace" was profound.

Already groups of Pacifist Ministers in Carnarvonshire have banded themselves to go anywhere to speak on peace, and groups of Heddychwyr are springing up in towns and villages all around. In all, the groups number nearly a hundred.

Perhaps it is better that they should learn to improvise locally, than be organized centrally, and thus deepen the sense of personal conviction and responsibility in local affairs and not be caught up again by any mere mass reaction against war. In the groups themselves courage and wisdom are needed not only to witness clearly and to support COs, but also to learn to explore the conference method amid their own differences of nationality, class and party and to seek to understand and remove the causes of difficulty and division in their midst.

FAITH in charity and conference Methods with foreigners abroad cannot grow with hostility and indifference to neighbours at home.

It would be difficult to state better the possibilities and responsibilities of such

peace-making groups than in the words of Middleton Murry:

"If Christian authority is ever to be re-established it will be created by Christian example. I incline to the belief that the seed-bed of the Christian example which will be relevant to the future will be found in some sort of voluntary association of men and women who are prepared to bear one another's burdens."

"Whatever in this desperate world makes towards the reality of Christian community belongs to the future. Whoever labours to bring some fragment of Christian community into being is a builder of the Kingdom. This also is not easy but neither, thank God, is it complicated. It is hard but it is simple. Any one who has enabled another to trust where he mistrusted, anyone who has given another to feel security in simple friendship, has created a fragment of Christian community. It is simple enough in a sense, but perhaps it is not the sort of simplicity for which men hunger."

Man is more comfortable when he is fighting for the Good against the Evil; being what he is he feels an elemental need to be surrendered to his Cause, to cast off responsibility. And I fear that it is simplicity of this kind to which men will turn to cut the tangled knot of the intolerable complexity of modern life. In so doing they will merely intensify the evil they escape from. No Cause can deliver man from the Self, and by surrendering to a Cause they will achieve only 'bestial oblivion.' Only a living Person can deliver man from this thralldom—the Man himself, not things said about Him, nor institutions built upon His tomb."

In the last analysis, it would seem, the personal values are the eternal, and the clue to the way of ultimate peace is in the intimate seeking of God and man.

PRICE CONTROL

To The Editor of Peace News.

I think Mr. E. C. Hudson (Letters to Other Editors, *Peace News*, January 12) has quite misunderstood the Order made by the Board of Trade under the Prices of Goods Act, 1939.

He seems to assume that Cotton frocks, for example, which cost 6s. to 10s. on the 21st August can now be sold up to 25s. without any offence under the Act.

The 25s. is not intended to fix a selling price at all but simply to designate a particular class of goods which in future will be price regulated.

STANLEY DAVIES.

"PACIFISM IS NEEDED NOW"

The third of R. H. Ward's series of articles is unavoidably held over until our next issue.

"Suspect" Pacifist Propaganda

THE following letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on January 13:

The Peace Pledge Union has noticed with concern the Home Secretary's reported statement at Edinburgh on Tuesday (January 9) warning the public against pacifist propaganda, which was described as "very subtle" and the origin of which "is at least suspect."

We believe this to be the first direct accusation of the pacifist movement by a responsible Minister, though on at least two former occasions, in the House of Commons, Sir John Anderson has made statements which seemed to bear the interpretation that pacifists were, in his opinion, a channel for alien propaganda. The chairman of the union then wrote to Sir John begging that the charges should be specified and substantiated, or withdrawn. No reply was received.

The Peace Pledge Union, which is the largest pacifist movement in existence, cannot therefore allow these allegations to go unchallenged. The belief which its members share and the methods which they advocate require the highest possible adherence to truth and openness of action. The sincerity and integrity of the movement is vouched for by such universally respected men as Lord Ponsonby and George Lansbury. We therefore beg the Home Secretary to make plain any charge he may wish to prefer against us, in the assurance that the Peace Pledge Union has nothing to fear from the fullest investigation of its origins, motives, or financial support—Yours, &c.

A. C. STANILAND, Press Secretary Peace Pledge Union.

On January 18, Mr. Creech Jones asked the Home Secretary, Sir John Anderson, "Whether all pacifist propaganda is considered suspect by his Department; if not, what section of the movement demanding peace is so considered?"

Sir John Anderson: No, sir. A clear distinction can be, and I think, should be, drawn between a philosophy of pacifism which may be inspired by the highest motives and certain forms of pacifist propaganda the origins and motives of which may be open to suspicion. It is obviously the duty of my Department to keep a watch on the propaganda of organizations which, for their own ends, advocate a policy diametrically opposed to the declared policy of H.M. Government.

Mr. Creech Jones: Can the Rt. Hon. Gentleman be a little more specific in view of the very general statement that he made in public only a few days ago?

Sir John Anderson: I think Hon. Members who, from all quarters of the House, have brought to my notice pacifist propaganda of various kinds, will have no difficulty in understanding what I have in mind.

BEWARE THE IDES OF MARCH

The soothsayer who warned Julius Caesar of his impending death was fortunate to have a date easy to utter and hard to forget. It was almost a slogan, and its crisp brevity ("Caesar: Ides of March Warning") might have looked well on the poster of a modern newspaper. But suppose the date had been different. One could not have blamed Caesar had he failed to memorise (shall we say) the 19th before the Calends of February as the day of doom.

The date of which we would give warning falls, not on the Ides but on the last day of March. Shares issued by St. Pancras Building Society after that date will carry interest at the reduced rate of three-and-a-half per cent. Shares issued now, however, afford the high return of four per cent. free of income tax, and will remain unaffected by the reduction. Time flies; and early application should be made by investors who desire to make certain of the higher yield.

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INDIA: FATEFUL DAYS AHEAD

Today may be a critical day in India, reports the "News Chronicle." Members of the All-India Congress Movement celebrate their annual Independence Day by renewing a pledge which is summed up in this clause: "We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India, and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj (complete independence) is attained." The leader of this non-violent struggle, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, is shortly to meet the Viceroy to discuss the Indian Nationalists' claims. The background of the discussion is given in this article

OVER the weekend, marked by speeches from important members of the War Cabinet—that must have caused dismay to all who are working for peace—has come the voice of Mr. Gandhi. Cutting right across the tragic deadlock in India this man with his unshakeable faith in the power of non-violence once more stretches out his hand to this country.

Readers of *Peace News* are aware of recent events in India, for these were set forth with clarity by Mr. Carl Heath in the issue of December 29. There is therefore no need to reiterate them. Save to remind readers that, since the beginning of war, when India was declared a belligerent country without popular sanction, and the Congress issued its Manifesto asking us to declare our war aims and state clearly what "fighting for democracy" meant in relation to India, the situation has deteriorated quickly.

Communal Differences

THE fact that the Congress Ministries in 8 out of the 11 British Indian Provinces resigned as a protest to the way we answered their question should make all thoughtful people pause. For, in effect we said "settle your own communal differences first." This the Congress was not prepared to accept, holding that the primary question was our unequivocal answer in regard to India's freedom and that when that is settled the communal difficulties will fall into their proper perspective.

Much has been heard lately about Hindu-Muslim tension; of the Muslim League and its leader, Mr. Jinnah. It is futile to say that this antagonism does not exist, but it is equally useless to exaggerate its importance. This has undoubtedly been done and the main issue blurred.

It is refreshing to see *The Times* taking a more realistic view. In an editorial on January 20 the writer criticizes both sides but also makes an important admission: "Some of his (Mr. Jinnah's) utterances have given the impression that the British policy of defending the lawful interests of minorities has encouraged him and his followers to think that members of the Muslim League are entitled to veto any and every constitutional advance simply because they are a minority..."

The Present Situation

THE deadlock has at last been broken. First came the Viceroy's statement in Bombay on January 10 in which he said that it was the concern of the British Government to reduce to a minimum the interval between the existing state of affairs and the attainment by India of Dominion Status as outlined in the Statute of Westminster.

He again stressed communal tension but pleaded for "an open mind," for "a readiness to compromise," and for "avoiding,

by AGATHA HARRISON

who is hon. secretary of the India Conciliation Group. Miss Harrison has travelled widely in India, met Mr. Gandhi, and specialized in Indian problems.

in these delicate political matters, too unbending a rigidity." If only this kind of answer had been given in September, the painful history of the past months might have been different.

We now have the Congress response to this statement. The Working Committee met last week and unanimously empowered Mr. Gandhi to seek "clarification" with the Viceroy. In his weekly paper *Harijan* (which by the way should be read regularly) of January 20, Mr. Gandhi has evidently elaborated the situation in detail. Only cabled extracts of this article are to hand; here are some of them:

Mr. Gandhi says "that he is not spoiling for a fight, but trying to avoid it... that he is eager for a compromise with Great Britain if it can be had with honour... that he likes the Viceroy's Bombay speech, and believes in his sincerity. "But"—he goes on to say—"there are some undoubted snags in that speech. Many of them have to be dotted, many of them crossed, but it seems to contain the germ of a settlement."

In the final paragraph of Mr. Heath's article on December 29 was this sentence: "Today there is complete deadlock and growing antagonism. The Prime Minister is too occupied to think of India, and there is no-one of big enough vision to step into the situation and effect a solution of courage, sense, justice and real concern for a new world. Save only that great man M. K. Gandhi."

Well, that "great man M. K. Gandhi" has stepped into the breach. And we hear that he is to proceed shortly to Delhi.

* Obtainable from the Friends Book Shop, Euston Road, N.W.1, price 2d.

"THE BOND OF PEACE"

P.P.U. Council's Decisions

DR. Alex Wood was appointed chairman of the National Council of the Peace. Pledge Union at its meeting on Saturday.

The meeting which was held at Hitherwood, the Holiday Fellowship's guest house at Sydenham Hill, was arranged to extend over the weekend so that the members of the council and some of the headquarters staff might get to know one another properly, by living together for the two days. The arrangement, all agreed, was very well worth while and is to be repeated for the next meeting on April 6 and 7.

It was reported that 925 people had joined in December and 560 so far in January.

Draft accounts for the full year were presented and discussed. Alex Wood, Maurice Rowntree, Stuart Morris, and Charles Baldwin were nominated to form a trust (probably to be known as the Dick Sheppard Trust) which would be a legally recognized body which could receive legacies and property on behalf of the PPU.

The Four Affirmations

Discussions of the recommendations of the Forethought Committee began with the four affirmations in which it had expressed its common mind. These were as follows:

"We are agreed
* 1. in attaching supreme value to the human person and the integrity of the individual.
"It is necessary to distinguish between the integrity of the individual, and an individualism, the exaggeration of which has prevented the realization of true democracy, and opened up the way for totalitarianism."

"We are agreed
* 2. in believing that the individual only achieves full personality through the establishment of right relationships with others."

AT this end, the situation demands the greatest vigilance. It will be a thousand pities if we sit back relieved at hearing that Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy are to meet.

No-one knows the pulse of his country better than the Mahatma; he will go to Delhi fully aware how far along the path of compromise he can take his followers. But, does the Viceroy know what the people of this country want him to do? I am afraid not. The apathy and ignorance on the Indian situation in this country are appalling.

On January 18, seeing that the India and Burma (Miscellaneous Amendments) Bill was to come before the House, I went in to listen. The Under-Secretary of State for India outlined in a lucid way the purpose of the Bill, which he said was to cure certain defects and omissions that the working of the new Constitution had revealed. Subsequent discussion showed the far-reaching importance of some of the clauses—Clause 2 in particular. For, in this, there is no shadow of doubt that if it passes as it stands, the Congress would see in it an attempt to limit power.

Listening to the debate, two things struck me forcibly. Why bring in a Bill like this now, when we know it will further inflame national India? (One can only hope that further discussions will be halted pending the talks in Delhi). And why were so many Members absent from their seats? At no time during the debate were more than a "handful" (as Mr. Wedgwood Benn described the attendance) present.

Surely we, as voters, can do something about this. We approach our respective MPs on other questions—have we done so on India? Until we do only a "handful" of them will feel impelled to attend when these momentous matters are under discussion.

And what is to prevent us from asking the Premier to include India in his weekly survey of international affairs? For the right settlement of this issue is of world significance.

ALL IN A MAZE

Brittle Felicities

ANYONE who rejects unconditionally the grotesquely brutal, savage and humourless assault on civilization known as war, may, surely, be called a genuine pacifist. He may reject it for a number of reasons; he may be a person of civility and sensibility, who will not abet the destruction of the glories of human nature—the bombing, e.g., of Athens, Venice, Florence, Rome, Chartres, Oxford and Cambridge, and a thousand other brittle felicities—not to mention (for it is mentioned oftener) the disgusting torture and mutilation of thousands of even more brittle, though less beautiful, human beings everywhere, and the brutalization and shoddy degradation of mind liable to accompany the perpetration and moral justifying of these excesses. It is so rare to consider any risk preferable to deliberately undertaking these revolting savageries and reducing Europe to a scrapheap of cultureless and insanitary debris? But do not let us dehumanize pacifism by calling it superhuman.

—Letter in *Time and Tide*, November 6th, 1937.

The above is an extract from the *Peace and War* anthology "All in a Maze," by Daniel George, with some assistance from Rose Macaulay. It is published by Collins, 6s. net.

WASTAGE

Waste is a sinful thing:
Save paper and string.

My heart leapt when I knew
A child within me grew,
And infinite the gain
Through soon-forgotten pain
He clung and blossomed: steady, free,
In limb and spirit walked with me:
Had friends, and found a woman kind,
Knew ecstasy, and peace of mind.

Waste is a sinful thing:
Save paper and string.

Esther Eddy

Union as such, or to co-operate officially with them."

"Peace News"

The committee having also made certain general and specific recommendations regarding the editing of and contributions to *Peace News*, and the Executive having sent a resolution asking the Council to discuss and decide what is the purpose of the paper, what is the type of reader to whom it is primarily addressed, and what is the general style to which it ought consequently to conform, a long discussion took place on the subject.

Besides specific suggestions, criticisms, and commendations, there was fairly general agreement that the object was to educate the general public in pacifist principles, paying special attention simultaneously to "the man-in-the-street" and the PPU member, and that, in general, the style should be as at present. A resolution was passed endorsing the forethought committee's recommendation that the Editor should regard the affirmations as "affording a guide to the contents and tone of the paper," and it was agreed to leave the interpretation of the resolution to the Editor.

Practically the whole of one session was given to a consideration of a long memorandum along the lines of the letter from a number of Chelsea members which appeared in *Peace News* on January 12. After Council members' own views, and the previous general attitude of headquarters on the specific points had been expressed, it was decided to ask the writers of the letter and memorandum to meet Alex Wood, Stuart Morris, Mary Gamble, Sybil Morrison, and Middleton Murry as soon as possible to discuss their point of view. It is hoped that this will be possible next Friday.

The date of the Annual General Meeting (April 27 and 28) was confirmed.

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897 C.O.s Have Appealed

AT December 31, 1939, 15,626 persons had been provisionally registered as conscientious objectors under the Military Training and National Service (Armed Forces) Acts. Up to January 16, 1940, 897 persons had appealed to the Appellate Tribunal from decisions of local tribunals under these same Acts.

These figures were given in a written parliamentary answer last week.

In another answer Mr. Ernest Brown said that 1.8 per cent. of the persons registered under the Military Training Act up to the outbreak of war were provisionally registered as conscientious objectors. The corresponding figures since the outbreak of war for the registrations under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act were 2.2 per cent. for the October registration and 2.1 per cent. for the December registration.

M.P. Protests At Tribunal's "Trick Questions"

A PROTEST against the questions put by the Glasgow Tribunal for conscientious objectors was followed, on Thursday of last week, by a scene which led to the courtroom being cleared.

While Mr. R. Bryce Walker, a tribunal member, was questioning an applicant, Councilor T. A. Kerr, a former senior magistrate of Glasgow, rose and said: "I feel constrained to protest against members of the Bench delivering political speeches."

A loud burst of applause caused the chairman to order the court to be cleared. While this was being done, Mr. Joe Taylor, leader of the ILP group in Glasgow Corporation, also protested.

M.P. On "Trick Questions"

After the court had been cleared, Mr. Bryce Walker asked Mr. J. McGovern, MP, who was appearing in support of the applicant, whether he thought there was anything unfair in the questions he had put to the applicant.

Mr. McGovern replied: "I consider the whole line of questioning unfair. You are constantly asking hypothetical questions which I consider trick questions..."

Later Mr. McGovern said they would be raising "next week in an organized way" the question whether applicants were getting a square deal.

The Chairman: "I do not think that one of the ways to ensure that the tribunal will act fairly is to charge it with unfairness."

Mr. McGovern: "I did not raise the issue. I did not come here to create a disturbance. You Mr. Bryce Walker: "We dissociate you from the disturbance."

Mr. McGovern: "There has been a suggestion by a large number of young men who hold conscientious objections that there is no use coming here because they feel they are not being fairly treated."

The Chairman: "That is absurd. Yesterday four men were given complete exemption."

Of the fourteen cases dealt with at this session six applications were granted, three were refused, and two were adjourned. Three men were given conditional exemption.

Scottish Appellate Tribunal Results

THE Appellate Tribunal for Scotland met for the second time on Thursday and Friday of last week.

Following is a summary of decisions:

Decisions of local tribunal upheld	28
Changes to complete exemption	2
" " present employment	2
" " agricultural work	2
" " non-combatant duties	2
Total	36

LOCAL DECISIONS

IN the following analysis of local tribunals' decisions. A stands for unconditional exemption, B for conditional exemption, C for registration for non-combatant duties, and D for unqualified registration for military service.

MIDLAND

At Birmingham, January 15-17	
A .. 1	C .. 9
B .. 72	D .. 16
Total	98

(In addition, 2 cases were adjourned.)

SOUTH-EASTERN SCOTLAND

At Edinburgh, January 16 and 19	
A .. 2	C .. 18
B .. 8	D .. 4
Total	32

(In addition, 3 cases were adjourned or withdrawn.)

NORTH-EASTERN

At Newcastle, January 17 and 18	
A .. 4	C .. 19
B .. 12	D .. 9
Total	44

(In addition, 1 case was withdrawn.)

According to the Ministry of Labour this tribunal dealt with 433 cases up to and including December 31. Decisions were as follows: A, 32; B, 137; C, 158; D, 106.

(Future tribunals, page 6)

AN OBJECTOR IN THE ARMY Willing To Do Non-Combatant Service : Warned for Refusing Bayonet Practice

A YOUNG man who was refused exemption as a conscientious objector now finds himself in a military training camp, where he has been under arrest for refusal to do bayonet practice.

"It occurs to me," he writes in a letter to *Peace News*, "that my case might serve as a warning to any other COs who may have contemplated performing non-combatant duties." He declares that he would not have reported at the training camp had he realized the implications of his action.

The young man in question appeared before the London Tribunal at the beginning of October and was unconditionally refused registration as a CO.

"By the end of the month," he writes, "I had adopted the full pacifist position, towards which I had been leaning for some time. However, as a gesture to show that pacifism was constructive, I was willing to serve on a minesweeper or as a stretcher-bearer in the RAMC."

Would Refuse Other Service

"Accordingly, I complied with the order to undergo medical examination and there informed the military interviewing officer of my desire to serve on a minesweeper or in the RAMC, but made it quite clear that I would refuse any other form of service."

"Imagine, therefore, my surprise when I heard that I was to report at an Infantry Training Camp. I immediately went to the Ministry of Labour and told them that I refused to comply with the order."

"They told me I should be dragged to the camp but suggested that I go down willingly, acquaint the Commanding Officer there with my desire for a transfer, and that he would endeavour to secure it."

"This I did and the CO put through the application for a transfer to the minesweeping service. In the meantime, I was to commence the ordinary training of the camp."

Refused Bayonet Practice

"Because I was desirous of being transferred, I tried hard to control my feelings and did so reasonably well till I was ordered to do bayonet practice."

"I refused and was placed under arrest. Later, when brought before the Commanding Officer, I was admonished but warned that I would be court-martialled and sentenced to penal servitude."

"Therefore, because I am willing to serve on a minesweeper, I am now under Military Law and, for the sake of the transfer, must now, I suppose, compromise with my principles. Had I known the implications of complying with the order in the first place, I should never, of course, have gone to the training camp, but now it is too late."

This young man adds that he has managed to get *Peace News* delivered at the barracks every week and circulates it as much as possible "but, I'm afraid, to little avail."

Economic Changes Needed for Peace

Speaking at a meeting at Bournemouth on January 7, on "Economic Changes necessary for a Permanent Peace," Mr. Theodore Faithfull made the following proposals for a peace programme:

1. The return to the ruling authority in every nation of the right of issue of all forms of money.
2. The stabilization of money values based upon the state of development of the contracting national units, with revision at intervals of ten years.
3. The national planning of the major imports and exports together with the abolition of tariffs.
4. The formation of a clearing house for Empire trade to be extended at the earliest possible date to all nations who are prepared to trade on the same basis.
5. The reinstatement of agriculture as the premier occupation in all countries, including Great Britain.
6. The provision for all men of adequate purchasing power so that no harvest of earth, sea, or of manufacturing industry remains undistributed.
7. Complete political, religious and educational freedom at home and abroad.
8. The voluntary concession of undeveloped areas of the world's surface for homes for migrants and the provision without stint of all that may be required to provide for them an environment consistent with modern civilization.

Soldier C.O.s May Not Leave Army

—War Office

MEN who join the army and later become conscientious objectors will not be allowed to leave the army or to transfer to another arm in which they may profess willingness to serve.

This decision, reached "not without some reluctance," has been communicated to Cecil H. Wilson, MP, by the Under Secretary of State for War, who said that "this is the only decision that we could have reached in the interests of the Army as a whole."

The ruling was given following consideration of one of the latest cases of a man becoming a conscientious objector after joining the army.

Dr. Alfred Salter, MP, had an interview with the new Secretary of State for War, Mr. Oliver Stanley, on Tuesday afternoon, and raised various other points concerning COs, on which the Minister promised an early reply.

Scottish Teachers' Plans

The Glasgow Teachers' Peace Group is now considering plans of action.

Will all teachers anywhere who have at any time run such a group please write as soon as possible to Henry A. Barter, 310 Kirkintilloch Road, Bishopbriggs, Glasgow, giving details of any plans they may have put into action or envisaged. In this way the group will be able to benefit from others' experience, and vice versa.

If pacifist teachers in any part of Scotland who do not already meet in groups as such will write to Mr. Barter, he will put them in contact with others in the same districts so that groups may be formed. In this way a network of pacifist teachers' groups might grow up in Scotland.

Teachers in Glasgow who may not have seen previous notices are invited to write to Mr. Barter now.

Students Reply to Mr. Greenwood

The recent University Labour Federation conference in Liverpool unanimously approved a letter to Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, in reply to his letter resigning the Presidency of the Federation.

Mr. Greenwood objected to a resolution of the students concerning the war.

The letter stated that "the conference has now discussed the resolution of the executive committee, which condemns the war as an imperialist war for profit and world domination, and calls on the Labour movement to lead the mass of the people in a struggle against it. . . . The conference regards your action and those of other leaders of the Labour Party in supporting the war and the political truce as a betrayal of Socialism and the interests of the working classes."

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PUBLIC MEETING

Kingsway Hall, Wednesday, January 31st, at 7.30

First performance of "CHILDREN CALLING!" new one-act play and well-known speakers.

Tickets 1s. 0d. and 6d. from Women's Committee for Peace and Democracy, 26 Grays Inn Road, W.C.1, or at door.

Let us act for peace and freedom, for our rights, for the return home of our men and for the defence of mother and child!

LABOUR BRANCH IS EXPELLED: ANTI-WAR

HAMPSTEAD Labour Party has been expelled by Labour Party headquarters following the refusal of its general management committee to renounce its anti-war attitude.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, MP, secretary of the London Labour Party, has accused the Hampstead Labour Party of having functioned more as a branch of the Communist Party than as a branch of the Labour Party. The suspended executive committee in Hampstead has issued a statement justifying its attitude.

West Leyton Divisional Labour Party has adopted a resolution urging that "energetic and continuous efforts should be made to secure an early peace." Peace terms, it added, should propose or embody:

- Preservation or restoration of democratic rights;
- Organization of international economic co-operation;
- Extension of self-government not only to European nations, but also the Indian and other peoples;
- Cessation of colonial exploitation;
- Drastic disarmament;
- Initiation of a new European system in which national sovereignty is limited.

The resolution also called for the Labour Party to make an effort to ensure a British lead towards a constructive peace.

Some members of the party, however, dissent from this attitude.

The Rev. R. W. Sorensen, MP, a pacifist, was present at the meeting at which the resolution was adopted. He said he would not speak, but preferred that the party itself should decide this important issue.

Federal Union Candidate at By-Election

MR. PATRICK RANSOME, barrister, international lawyer, may stand as independent Federal Union candidate in the Cambridge by-election caused by the death of Sir John Withers. The invitation to accept nomination was presented to Mr. Ransome by the Executive Committee of Federal Union and by men and women of all parties prominent in the academic and scientific world of Cambridge.

Mr. Ransome worked for some time at the International Labour Office at Geneva. He is one of the founders of the Federal Union movement in this country.

In a statement to the press after his election Mr. Ransome said that his election programme would be based on the necessity of a clear statement of peace aims incorporating the idea of Federal Union. "I believe," said Mr. Ransome, "that if Federal Union were offered to the German people, that would stimulate them more than anything to get rid of the existing regime and thus prepare the way for permanent peace."

Other candidates are likely to be: Dr. Archibald Vivian Hill, Independent Conservative; Professor J. A. Ryle, Independent Progressive.

YOUTH ASSEMBLY PUBLICATIONS

A pamphlet entitled *Four Views on the War* has just been issued by the British Youth Peace Assembly. The pamphlet "tries to clarify the bewilderment many young people feel about the war. Four different views are put forward, not dogmatically, but to be weighed one against the other." Copies are obtainable (1d. each) from the BYPA, 118 Chandos House, Palmer Street, London, S.W.1.

The Assembly has just published its first issue of *Youth News* (price 2d.), a monthly publication to provide "news and views from home and overseas."

FASCISM

is it good or evil? Both the cases for and against are impartially heard in the current number of

"FAIR HEARING"

the ten-minute review of political thought. Next month—"Communism." Free specimen copy from Ronald Bathgate, Rookscombe, Nr. Wells, Som.

AWAY WITH FEAR!

By John Barclay

THE growing uneasiness to be observed in the public mind is, I believe, due to a growing realization of the fundamental stupidity of war. We are seeing the goal recede with every step taken, and it is, therefore, becoming obvious to all that we must be going backwards. Cold and hunger sharpen the wits and a steadily declining hope causes even the most foolhardy to beware.

It is in this atmosphere of discontent and disillusion that the pacifist point of view grows more acceptable. The task of the pacifist is doubly difficult, but never more worth while. We have the work of holding society together as well as leading it forward along a dangerous new path.

Every worker is needed and work of all sorts is waiting to be done. Through the fellowship of the Groups we can organise the workers and with their help we can achieve the end. The greatest need is for individuals to stand up and declare their faith.

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

In family, office and factory declare openly that as for them war is futile. The open avowal strengthens the individual in his own faith and gives a lead to others who have been more timid.

But declaration is not enough. At the moment of becoming aware of our own position comes the urgent necessity for action. Not "action for action's sake," but because the generated power of conviction forces us into open revolt against the folly of disintegration.

For some this action becomes inward growth, and appears to others as stagnation. For thousands of the younger members it must declare itself in actual physical movement. Here then is the work for leaders:—How to guide the sudden resolve to action along channels already taken by heroic but forgotten pioneers. The waters of revolt are swelling against war, and it is useless Canute-like to sit and order them to go back. Only by governed—self-governed

—restraint can they be guided, and only by inspired leadership can they be led. If the "Groups within the Groups" can show resolution and humour, all will be well.

★

We are up against the dead weight of fear, and only good-humour and patience will ever quell it. Battering against it is as futile as war itself and can only lead to disaster.

I believe that in the hundreds of Groups scattered all over the British Isles we have the faith and vision combined with the wisdom and courage needed. All that is lacking is an understanding that will unite us as an invincible body capable of re-establishing society on a firm spiritual basis.

Humour is indispensable, or we fail. We are too solemn, too self-important and horribly inclined to be smug. It is a great adventure and we are all in it. Dare we throw all we have into the melting-pot so that the new shape we are moulding will have sufficient ore?

We can give our time, our energy and our enthusiasm, also we must give up our security if we are ever to find it. Away with the stocking and the fear of old age! "Whom the gods love die young." It is now or never, say the young. It is certainly time to cry Now, and that must mean that those of us who can no longer give the energy must give the money.

"The game's afoot; follow your spirits."

London Group Leaders

A Group Leaders' business meeting (London Area) will be held in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, London, W.1, on Tuesday, February 6, at 7 p.m. The agenda will include:

1. Minutes of the last meeting on January 2.
2. John Barclay's report.
3. Sybil Morrison's report on the National Council based on the Findings of the National Council on the Four Affirmations.
4. Discussion arising from Sybil Morrison's report.

To Regional Secretaries

YOU, and the Chairman of your Region, are invited to a preliminary conference to discuss better co-ordination of regions within the London Area to be held on Tuesday, February 13, at 6 p.m. (before the usual members' meeting) at Dick Sheppard Club, King's Weigh House, Binney Street (late Thomas Street), Oxford Street, opposite Selfridge's. Light refreshments can be had at the club before or after the conference. Please see that your region is represented at this important first meeting.

JOHN BARCLAY (Convener).

Future Tribunals

FOLLOWING are particulars of forthcoming sessions of the tribunals for conscientious objectors (dates are inclusive):

NORTHUMBERLAND & DURHAM
In Newcastle today.

NORTH-WESTERN
In Manchester today (9.45 a.m.), and January 29—Feb. 2.

NORTH-EASTERN
In County Court, Albion Place, Leeds, 1, on January 29 and February 6 (10.15 a.m.).

SOUTH-WESTERN
In Bristol today.

SOUTH WALES
In Shire Hall, Carmarthen, today (10.30 a.m. and 1.30 p.m.).
In Guild Hall, Swansea, January 29 (10.30 a.m. and 2 p.m.).

LONDON
In Fulham Town Hall (nearest station, Walham Green) on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; in West London County Court, North End Road (stations West Kensington or Barons Court) on Thursdays (1.30 to 5 p.m.) and Fridays (10 a.m. to 5 p.m.).

SOUTH-EASTERN
In Southwark County Court, Swan Street, off Trinity Street, Borough (stations, Borough or Elephant and Castle) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays (10.30 a.m. to 4 p.m.).

This tribunal also deals with London cases on Tuesdays, when it meets in Bloomsbury County Court, Great Portland Street, at 10.30 a.m.

The above dates are subject to alteration at the discretion of the chairman of the tribunal, though changes are rare.

Letters to Other Editors

Peace Aims and Offers

I venture to suggest that the best way of influencing the German nation and its leaders is to say outright, if only in broad terms, what are the practical objects which the Allied Powers have in mind. The avowal of elevated principles, which in practice may mean much or little, does not carry us far. . . . But, further, not only should the concrete objects of the war which are regarded as essential be openly stated, if only in the rough, but they should be backed as moral guarantors by as many neutral Governments as can be induced to join in such a collective declaration, and above all by the United States, and be put forward as bases of future negotiation, in which all these States would take part equally with the three belligerent Powers. The reason for such a guarantee should be clear. Let us candidly ask ourselves why Germany should be expected to accept any promises made solely by the Powers which they are now fighting. They cannot have forgotten that protestations of good will and moderation were dangled before their eyes during the last War, only to be flatly repudiated in the hour of victory.

W. H. DAWSON
—The Times, January 23

"Now" or "Later"?

We have been assured on high authority that our ultimate or peace aim in the present war is the creation of a new and better Europe. Nothing could be more satisfactory as a general statement. But, this question immediately arises—are we to wait till victory has been achieved in a long and devastating war before a beginning can be made in creating the better Europe that is to be? If so, there is a danger that its creation will prove impossible.

With Central Europe in political disorder and economic ruin (what else can the defeat of Germany mean?); powerful marauders, now waiting their opportunity, at work on the wreckage; the resources of the victors exhausted almost to breaking point; statesmanship overwhelmed and distracted by grave domestic problems arising in the change over from a war to a peace economy—under these conditions what are the prospects for the creation of a new and better Europe? If the beginning is difficult now, will it not be vastly more difficult then?

Are we then to attempt it now, or must we wait till the war has been got out of the way, victory achieved, and statesmen are at leisure to attend to the matter? The answer is that the longer we wait the less leisure statesmen are likely to have for anything of the kind. The greater will be the difficulties and the smaller the resources for overcoming them. There will be other fish to fry and little fat left to fry them in.

Considered as a deferred undertaking, the Law of Diminishing Returns is likely to play havoc with our hopes for a new and better Europe. It would seem, therefore, that between "now" and "later" the argument is overwhelmingly in favour of "now."

L. P. JACKS.
—The Times, January 18.

Ireland-Violence Bred by Violence

Simply to throw men into goal without charge or trial cannot in the long run solve anything. Temporarily it may, if indulged in on a large enough scale, behead the leadership of the Republican movement, but it leaves the real cause of all the trouble, the social evils of slumdom, unemployment, low wages, and agricultural stagnation, untouched. The Northern Ireland and Eire Governments, having alike failed to remedy the extreme social ills from which Ireland is suffering, must not be surprised if coercion used against their extreme opponents leads in the long run to more and more uncontrolled violence, for both Governments have to remember that they owe their existence to violent origins.

J. E. De COURCY IRELAND.
—Manchester Guardian, January 17.

Good Response to Women's Peace Campaign Plans

GROUPS are responding splendidly to the call for a great united effort on February 17.

Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Newcastle are arranging processions. It is hoped that all towns in Scotland, Wales and England will do the same.

The plans for marches and demonstrations on the outskirts of the Metropolitan Police Area take longer to arrange on account of the time necessary for putting groups into touch with each other, but the work is going on, and the success of our first effort is already assured.

Special posters and leaflets will be ready by the first week in February.

Please write for information to Sybil Morrison, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Pacifists at Loyds

An attempt is being made to contact all those connected with Loyd's (underwriters or brokers) who are interested in pacifism. Will anyone whose business takes him into the Room or who is employed in an office connected with Loyd's, please communicate with John V. Hinde, c/o Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, W.1.

What the Groups Are Doing

THE group at the Bayswater Dick Sheppard Centre has now acquired new premises at 254 Harrow Road, Paddington, where in about three weeks' time it is hoped to open a Dick Sheppard Club for the unemployed and old age pensioners.

They expect to have daily canteen (meals 3d.), Grandfathers' Club, Make and Mend Class, Shoe Repairing, Toy-making for local children's hospitals, discussion groups and talks.

Arrangements are being made to obtain the services of four men who will live in community at 254 and serve the club. Miss Ellen Dighton is anxious to receive the names of those who can provide 15s. per week towards their keep. Further details are obtainable from Miss Dighton at the Centre, 52 Queensway, London, W.2.

"Peace News" in Harlesden

ARRANGEMENTS are being made to circulate and visit all members in the Harlesden district with a view to increasing sales of Peace News and bringing in new active members.

At the annual meeting of the group it was decided that members should be responsible individually for the sale of a given number of copies of Peace News.

The group decided to affiliate to the No Conscription League; to work with a group that is being formed in Paddington; and also to affiliate to the Paddington Youth Forum—a League of Young People's Societies formed to discuss problems of everyday interest.

Dr. Belden at Southend

DR. ALBERT BELDEN spoke for one and a half hours to a packed hall at a public meeting organized by the newly-formed Southend group on Wednesday, January 10. His subject: "How to achieve our War Aims," excited a lively discussion, but on the whole the audience was sympathetic and both financially and otherwise the meeting was a great success.

West Sussex Region

THIRTY-THREE people, including a considerable number of interested visitors, and representatives of various religious and political organizations and the local Press, gathered to hear an address by the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon at North Bersted last week. The meeting was organized jointly by the For and PPU.

The speaker's sincerity, fire and wit combined to make a profound impression on his hearers. New groups are being formed at Midhurst and Yewton, and the re-formed Chichester group is meeting regularly.

When You Move

MEMBERS are asked to make a special point of sending any changes of address to PPU Headquarters at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

A regional rally with addresses by John Barclay has been arranged for February 10 at Bognor.

Selling in Bootle

SELLING of Peace News is now carried out each Saturday afternoon in Bootle. Volunteers are urgently required from 2.30 p.m., and are asked to meet outside Woolworth's, Stanley Road.

Sale Group Expands

THE Sale (Manchester) group recently organized a successful public meeting addressed by G. A. Sutherland and James Norbury, who spoke on "Peace, at What Price?" About 100 people were present.

The group is now consolidating its position in the district and since September has increased its number of active members to about 55. In addition there are some 15 to 20 signatories who for various reasons cannot attend the weekly meetings. The group has a list of interested people and "near Pacifists" totalling 150, and in this sphere finds much scope for propaganda work.

Streatham Sunday Meetings

THE Streatham group is starting a new drive with its Sunday meetings. The time has been changed from afternoon to the evening and they are advertising in the Streatham News.

The first of the new meetings was held on Sunday (January 21) at the group headquarters, 260, Streatham Hill Road (over Parkes, the Chemist), at 7.30 p.m. It was addressed by the treasurer, Eric Williams who spoke on "The PPU and Its Struggle for Peace."

Maurice Rowntree at Truro

ADDRESSING a Truro meeting last week Maurice L. Rowntree said he disliked and hated the methods Hitler had used about as much as anybody could dislike them, but he believed we were making a great mistake if we thought the war was due to Hitler. He believed if we would be realistic and look at the situation fairly we could understand why Hitler had got where he was and why it was the German people seemed to us so militaristic.

Rickmansworth's First Meeting

THE first public meeting organized by the PPU in Rickmansworth was held on Sunday and addressed by Andrew Stewart and H. E. Seed. Their subject was "Where Stands Pacifism Now?"

The group was formed in July when the old Watford group multiplied itself into five separate groups and became the West Herts Region. It has been found that having group activities "on the doorstep" has made the existing members very much keener and they have had at least a score of new and active members since the group was formed.

Coventry Activities

THE Pathfinders of Peace in Coventry recently invited the local PPU members to hear Rhys Davies, MP, speak on "The Possibility of a Negotiated Peace."

Two groups in Coventry have "adopted" families in South Wales under the Unemployed Adoption Scheme, and they are now sending parcels of clothes and groceries to these unfortunate people.

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WILFRED WELLOCK.
Manchester Guardian, January 11.

Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion. Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

Today (Friday)

FINCHLEY: 8 p.m. Methodist Church Hall, High Road; Dr. A. Herbert Gray, Rev. H. J. Blackmore and Rev. Raymond Taunton (chairman); PPU.
LONDON, E.C.2: 110 p.m. St. Margaret's, Lothbury; Sybil Morrison on the Women's Peace Campaign; PPU.
LONDON, W.1: 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; Mock Tribunal; Fellowship of COs.
LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; George Greer on "Ireland, Britain and the War"; PPU.
SUNDERLAND: 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Toward Road; Mrs. Reavley on "The Woman's Point of View"; PPU.
WORCESTER PARK: 2.15 p.m. Women's Co-operative Guild; John Barclay; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

BOSCOMBE (Bournemouth): 6 p.m. Temperance Hall, Haviland Road; E. W. Laurie on "Kill or Cure"; PPU.
DORRING: 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Butter Hill; Test Tribunal; group meetings first Tuesday in every month at above address; PPU.
EASTBOURNE: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wish Road; Sybil Morrison; PPU.
EDMONTON: 7 p.m. Independent Church Hall, Knights Lane (near Town Hall); North London Regional Party; admission 1s. including refreshments; speaker: Andrew Stewart; PPU.
LEATHERHEAD: 3 p.m. Methodist Church Hall, Church Street, Rev. C. G. Holland; W. Birmingham and J. Topping (chairman); PPU.
LINCOLN: 2.30 p.m. Newland Congregational Church Parlour; regional conference: "The aims and basis of the For"; Mark Shirley and Rev. F. N. James (chairman); For.

Sunday, January 28

BOURNEMOUTH: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; J. Caudle on "Sweden"; PPU.
CARDIFF: 7.45 p.m. Transport Workers Hall, Charles Street; Fenner Brockway and V. C. Reynolds (chairman); Cardiff United Peace Front.
GLASGOW: 3 p.m. Ruskin Hall, 140 Smithycroft Road, Riddrie; Sir Hugh S. Robertson; PPU.
GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Linden Place, Anniesland; W. Oliver Brown, Tom Taylor and Rev. H. Taylor Cape (chairman); PPU and No Conscription League.
HALIFAX: 7 p.m. Labour Party Rooms, St. James' Street; Rev. R. Sorensen; Halifax Labour Party.
WORTHING: 3.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Worthing Road; Bernard G. Lawson on "Constructive Peace"; chairman: Horace Watson; PPU.

Monday, January 29

BANBURY: 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; John Barclay, Rev. A. D. Belden and Frank Parkin (chairman); PPU.
HARRINGAY: 7.30 p.m. Allison Hall, Green Lanes (bus stop, Salisbury Hotel); Fred Messer, Reg. Sorensen, Chris Jones, Trevor Williams and Dr. C. A. Smith (chairman); North London Anti-War Council.
LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street; Helen B. Ford; Society of Friends and Advisory Committee. These meetings held every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

Tuesday, January 30

SWINDON: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Eastcott Hill; John Barclay; PPU.
WALLINGTON: 8.15 p.m. Methodist Church Hall, Beddington Gardens; Rev. E. P. Woolcombe on "The Christian and Compulsion"; PPU.

Wednesday, January 31

BAYSWATER: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Charles Vereker on "Federal Union"; PPU.
ENFIELD: 8 p.m. Baptist Hall; Mock Tribunal; PPU.
KINGSTON: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; John Barclay on "Pacifists in Wartime"; regional meeting; PPU.
LONDON, S.W.12: 8 p.m. Small Trevena Hall, Boundaries Road; Eric R. Roach on "The work of the War Resisters' International at home and abroad"; PPU.
LUTON: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Castle Street; Rev. Paul Gliddon; Christian Pacifist Group.

Thursday, February 1

BOURNEMOUTH: 7.45 p.m. Labour Hall, Lincoln Avenue; D. Wyndham Thomas on "Mobilising Man-power and Industry"; PPU.
CHEAM: 8 p.m. 32 Carlisle Road; "Our Pacifist Witness"; PPU.
HALIFAX: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Clare Road; J. George Stark on "This Punitive Expedition"; For.
KENTISH TOWN: 8.15 p.m. Community Shop, 95 Leighton Road; Kenneth Bowden on "The National Pacifist Case Today"; PPU.
NEW BARNET: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Leicester Road; Bernard Pike on "International Voluntary Service for Peace"; PPU.

Friday, February 2

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms, Batson Street; Mock Tribunal; chairman: P. Marshall; No Conscription League.
LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; discussion of Leeds Tribunal decisions; PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Barbara Wootton on "Federal Union"; PPU.

Letters to the Editor

CRUSADES, OLD AND NEW

I WISH to support with all the earnestness possible the appeal of Mr. Middleton Murry in your issue of January 19 under the heading "Crusades, old and new." In my opinion Mr. Murry puts the most urgent need of the Peace Movement today in the last paragraph of his article when he says: "A new world will be lost to the pacifist movement unless it can break free, more plainly than it has yet done, from the anti attitude."

I wonder how many of your readers have read Wells' new book, *The New World Order*? More than any other recent book I have seen, this one puts the case for the new world order simply and clearly, and with a considerable amount of detail.

Could not such a book as this be taken as a basis for discussion and the leaders of the Pacifist Movement set themselves the task of outlining what in their opinion should be the bases of the New Society we all desire, then call a great Conference of those interested, or their delegates, to amend and then approve of the findings, and then send us all out, known and unknown, big and little, clever and not so clever, but all convinced on the main issues, to preach this New Crusade to the rising generation?

As one whose whole time is engaged in work amongst young people, I am sure they are waiting to be won by some one or something, and if we don't hurry up they may be won by the anti-Christian forces before Christians are able to offer an alternative.

R. S. WORT

YMCA, 1 High Street, Weston-super-Mare.

Mr. John Middleton Murry poses the interesting question whether we have changed so much in forty years "that we are entitled to represent the invasion of Finland as an iniquity of which we are incapable." Accepting that "we" implies the nation as a whole, my answer would be "yes." Otherwise, we simply adopt the attitude that because 40 years ago this country took away the independence of the Boers, then we have no justification for opposing the over-running of Finland by Russia. In any case, why stop at a lapse of 40 years. In the march of time there is little to choose between 40 and 400 years, and I have little doubt that "we" would have little good to say of many things done in 1540.

However, let us be a little more definite about this invasion of Finland. Of course, to the Communists, it is nothing less than a Crusade of the most modern of religions, and by virtue of its holiness is above criticism. The rest of us for many differing reasons oppose Russia's act, and are prepared to support measures in aid of Finland, but as far as I can judge the pacifists remove themselves from reality by either ignoring the fact that the invasion has taken place, or suggesting in effect that by reason of our past misdeeds, "we" should sit back with our arms folded.

However, despite the resistance of the Finns and the outside assistance they receive, it is extremely probable that Russia will triumph at a comparatively early date, and "peace" will reign in this region of the world, so perhaps the problem I have posed is a passing one as far as pacifists are concerned, and, therefore, calls for no verdict from them.

L. C. ALPE

72 Clarence Avenue, New Malden, Surrey.

Pacifists and the Government

Thank you for printing Herbert A. Gray's contribution a fortnight ago. I am convinced that the war could not go on if the British people were willing to give up privileges which can only be maintained by war and demanded peace forthwith, and I am reluctant to lay the whole blame for this unwillingness upon our Government.

And why this dislike of freedom of expression in *Peace News*? Attempts to censor your paper by threats to cease selling it are becoming too frequent, and I would appeal to fellow pacifists to concede to their friends the tolerance and forbearance that is at present extended to pacifists by the authorities.

JOSEPH MORLAND

6 Duppas Hill Road, Croydon, Surrey.

May I very warmly thank Dr. Gray for his article in *Peace News* of January 12.

I, too, have been troubled at an attitude frequently taken up by PPU members and others who oppose war, towards those who think differently. We cannot too often remind ourselves that mere opposition to war is negative, but that pacifism is constructive ("pax"—peace, "facere"—to make).

If we are pacifists we are out to make peace, with our own opponents, as well as with our nation's "enemies." This does not mean in either case an acquiescence in evil; it does mean, among other things, a sympathetic understanding, a study of psychology, infinite patience, an appreciation of such goodness as there is in others, and a recognition of the fault in ourselves.

All these are things we urge upon our Government and others in their attitude to Germany and all these we must urge upon ourselves in our attitude towards those who support the war. Our making of peace can only be achieved by intellectual, moral and spiritual powers against evil will and wrong thinking; by good will and right thinking.

No less true, if we are to be makers of peace, is Dr. Gray's plea that we must be giving serious

thought to the principles on which peace is to be built.

When a conscientious objector is given absolute exemption, some may say: "then he won't have to do anything!" Is that true? Is it not truer to say that for the rest of his life he (and we women also) will have to be making peace in personal relationships in the thought which as a citizen he gives to national and international relationships and in industrial and social circles. We had better begin now.

HELEN B. BYLES FORD

Sandy Croft, Bentham, Yorkshire.
 *Further letters criticizing Dr. Gray have been received, to which we hope to publish his reply next week.—Ed.

On Self-Forgiveness

For the first time in my life I am SHOCKED. R. H. Ward says we must "forgive ourselves." Is this advice to a nation of over-zealous penitents, or what? Richard Ward himself points out that "we find scapegoats outside ourselves." Of course we do, and forgive ourselves at the same time. The result is the damnable complacency which is our worst enemy.

Why, the next thing will be he'll be wanting us to revise the Lord's Prayer, so that it will read: "And forgive us our trespasses as we have already forgiven them ourselves." Isn't it hard enough already to face our responsibilities and to persuade others to do the same without a system of Free Indulgences on which to cushion our consciences? Nature and Nemesis take a different view of things and exact payment however often we may tear up their bills, as this war shows.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

53 Cleveland Square, London, W.2.

Social Reconstruction

It is becoming increasingly evident that it is no longer sufficient for us, as pacifists, to hold weekly meetings at which we discuss the philosophy of pacifism, means of pacifist propaganda, or economic problems.

This, in the view of a group of pacifists here, does nothing to alter the opinion of us prevalent in the mind of the general public, which is that we are well-meaning people enough, but negative.

Therefore we suggest that PPU members should regard themselves as the "Shock Troops of Social Reconstruction."

It is our view that on every PPU member some social duty should devolve. To this

end we shall, utilizing the services of the experts which some groups rank in their membership, or local educational services, study various branches of the social sciences. We can all afford some hours in a week, and, once proficient, we shall assist in all ways possible the existing voluntary services.

Should groups be interested in this suggestion, please send a stamped and addressed envelope to 19 John William Street, Huddersfield, and a fuller explanation of the scheme will be forwarded.

MARJORIE PHILLIPS, DAVID LINT, E. M. WILSON, G. TATTERSALL (Hudds. PPU Sec.), W. MALLINSON, D. A. HAIGH, G. H. WATMOUGH.

37 Grasmere Road, Huddersfield.

At this present time when pacifists are apt to be accused of shirking their responsibilities as citizens and "sitting smug" at home lifting their usual pay envelope, while others of their fellows are sacrificing all—work, home, comfort—in an endeavour to defend their country to the best of their knowledge, it is imperative that they take action to show that conscientious objection is not just another variant of the policy of making money out of war.

This is probably the motive behind the suggestion made in the letter by M. H. Bennett, but I would suggest that pacifists should go much further than sharing their ration of butter with invalids or children. They should (for the duration of the war, at least) abandon the practice of saving or putting away money for a rainy day, and they should use the money thus released to relieve suffering and want, to support financially the activities of peace-loving societies at home and abroad, to buy extra pacifist literature for their own education and for distribution, and so on.

"P ASCOT."

Points from Letters

SOCIAL CREDIT

In last week's *Peace News*, Mr. Middleton Murry talks of the "so-called manufacture of Credit" by the banks. The Social Credit movement has never stated that banks create credit, knowing full well that credit belongs to the community and is measured by the capacity of its industries and people to produce real wealth, goods and services. The banks do not create this credit. They create credit-money which they think belongs to them on the basis of the nation's real credit, which manifestly does not belong to them. That the banks do create this financial credit out of nothing but "figures in books" is confirmed by eminent bankers and other financial experts who presumably know more of the matter than Middleton Murry—H. W. JEANES (Old Contemptible), 18 Vale Avenue, Brighton 6, Sussex.

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<p>To Let</p> <p>COMMUNAL ACCOMMODATION in South Devon for those with small means. Full board 15s. weekly. Members will be expected to share duties and there will be opportunities to engage in agricultural work if desired.—Write E. Johnson, "Middlecote," Shaldon, Teignmouth, S. Devon.</p> <p>THREE BRIGHT ROOMS to let in quiet pacifist home. 18s. 6d. p.w. inclusive.—150 Olive Road, Cricklewood, N.W.2.</p>	<p>ALL P.P.U. members should implement their pledge by joining World Union, which provides a positive Peace policy. Act now.—British Section 3, St. George's Place, Brighton.</p> <p>FILM SHOWS DRAW CROWDS: write for details Peace Film Library, Kino Film Service, 8 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.</p>
Wanted	PERSONAL
<p>PACIFIST SEEKS ACCOMMODATION, wife and son, should be able to cook. Preferably within 80 miles London.—Box 302, <i>Peace News</i>, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p>	<p>WOULD YOU LIKE LIVING in a Continental home in Aberystwyth with two cultured girl refugees as a paying guest? Please write Box 304, <i>Peace News</i>, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p>
BOOKS	SITUATIONS
<p>TRUTH ABOUT THIS WAR. The book for which Action and the New Leader refused advertisements. Truth says "so dangerous that the authorities should lose no time in suppressing it." Two shillings and sixpence from British People's Party, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.</p>	<p>Vacant</p> <p>FIRM POTATO MERCHANTS operating east and west require lorry driver.—Box 206, <i>Peace News</i>, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p>Wanted</p> <p>GENTLEMAN (29) Christian Pacifist, desires tuition, farming, as working pupil. Live in, small premium, references.—"S," 18 Treve Avenue, Harrow, Middx.</p>
BUSINESS	TYPEWRITING
<p>FOR SALE (or would consider letting to responsible experienced person) excellent cafe business (mostly lunches, no Sundays) growing concern. Good living for two workers. W.C.1 district.—Box 305, <i>Peace News</i>, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.</p> <p>OWING TO WAR young man has to relinquish excellent window-cleaning business in suburban district. Asking £50. Absolutely genuine. Healthy life. Write 115 Eglinton Hill, S.E.18.</p>	<p>LONDON GRADUATE, honours, assistant master, with University Teachers' Diploma, and B. of E. Certificate seeks post in schools or as tutor. Arts subjects. Anglican Pacifist. Age 23. Apply, A. H. Taylor, 29 Oaklands Close, Potts Wood, Orpington, Kent.</p> <p>PACIFIST requires work on farm. Pigs preferred. Would give services for board and lodging or low wages. Age 24. Previous experience.—Box 305, <i>Peace News</i>, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.</p>
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<p>CORRESPONDENCE AND VISIT LESSONS in writing, speaking, and poetry (taken together). Consideration of personal and international relationships as basis for speaking and story, play, and article writing.—Miss Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3.</p> <p>FELCOURT SCHOOL, East Grinstead. Co-educational 9-16. A thorough education in an atmosphere free from war talk. No shelters or gas mask drill.</p> <p>FRENCH LESSONS given, by native teacher, in London area. Conversation, grammar, preparation for matriculation, etc. Very moderate terms. Please write to, Marie-Louise Berneri, 11 Eton Place, Haverstock Hill, N.W.3.</p>	<p>LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B and B 5s., double 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Tel. 3572.</p> <p>YOUTH HOUSE. Residential and social centre for progressive youth. Vegetarian restaurant, lectures, dances, language classes, rambles, &c. Internationalism and fellowship in active communal life. Single bed-sitting-rooms, 15s. per week.—Apply Secretary, 250 Camden Road, N.W.1. Gulliver 5189.</p>
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<p>RUSSIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. 2d. New pamphlet giving facts about USSR at Geneva; up-to-date. 1 copy, 2d.; 6 copies, 1s. 2d.; 12 copies, 2s. 3d., from R. T. Soc., 8 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.</p>	

WHAT CAN BE DONE

Copies of "Peace News" ordered last week: 34,500 (almost sold out).
Last week's donation to "Peace News" Fund: £3 18s. 10d.
Total of "Peace News" Fund to date: £439 12s. 8d.

THOSE figures show the progress of Peace News so far as circulation and financial support are concerned.

Though they are encouraging, we have no right to be complacent about them.

A Maidstone reader, Leslie A. Smith, points out that, whatever one may think of its politics, the *Daily Worker* is an example of what can be done by readers who are keen to support a newspaper.

"However much we may differ on points of policy," he writes "I think the pacifist must admire the communist for his devotion to his cause and the sacrifices he is prepared to make for it, both in time and money. No less than £70,000 has been contributed to the *Daily Worker* in ten years, whilst all over the country *Daily Worker* leagues, sellers and agents have been co-ordinated in the fight."

"Compare the membership figure of the PPU with the circulation of *Peace News*. Less than a third of PPU members take *Peace News*, and this is ignoring non-pacifists who read it. This apparent apathy is a weakness that should be remedied immediately."

"Every group in the country ought to have a *Peace News* organizer. Every town ought to have a *Peace News* correspondent, and every member of the PPU ought to buy at least one copy of our paper each week."

"In each town the *Peace News* organizer, working with a band of volunteers from the group, should systematically approach every newsagent in the locality and ask him to stock a few copies, whilst every public reading room, every possible club, waiting room and barber's shop should each be given a copy weekly. These free copies could be supplied out of profits made on street selling..."

Another correspondent points out that penny-a-week group collections, suggested in *Peace News* a fortnight ago, result in considerable support for the Fighting Fund of the *Daily Worker*.

(The "Peace News" fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to "Peace News." Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to Peace News, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Telephone: Stamford Hill 6157

Subscription Rates, home and abroad.
Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 189 26.1.40

Lansbury is Nobel Prize Nominee

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, 81-year-old president of the Peace Pledge Union, is being nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by members of both British Houses of Parliament.



MR. LANSBURY

Since resigning leadership of the Labour Party he has visited America and travelled throughout Europe in the cause of peace as an emissary of Embassies of Reconciliation. Among the political leaders he saw were Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini.

These include Lord Sankey, Lord Ponsonby, Sir William Jowitt, K.C., Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Mr. J. C. Wedgwood, Mr. Graham White and Mr. T. Edmund Harvey.

It is expected that peace and other societies and influential people outside Parliament will support the proposal.

Talks on War Resisters Abroad

The following informative group talks have been arranged by the War Resisters' International Group of Speakers. Any other groups in or near London, in the Bristol, Leeds or Manchester areas, wishing to hear about the work of war resistance being done abroad, should communicate with Mr. Sydney P. Lacombe, Ridge Cottage, Wilderness Mount, Sevenoaks, Kent, or with Miss Grace M. Beaton, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Monday, January 29 — GRANGE PARK Methodist Guild; Stanley G. Cooper.

Monday, January 29 — WEST WICKHAM PPU; Eric T. Roach.

Wednesday, January 31 — BALHAM; Eric T. Roach.

Wednesday, January 31 — FINCHLEY; Stanley G. Cooper.

Tuesday, February 6 — ILFORD PPU; C. E. Harrington.

Thursday, February 8 — BEXLEY HEATH (North Kent) International Friendship League; Eric T. Roach.

Tuesday, February 27 — ASHFORD (Kent); Eric T. Roach.

Wednesday, February 28 — HAMPSTEAD; Stanley G. Cooper.

WORK OF WAR RESISTERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE Maritzburg (South Africa) section of the War Resisters' International continued throughout 1939 to pursue its three aims—study, propaganda and humanitarian work.

While new sympathizers appeared from time to time, new members were regrettably few. There are now 17 members, only five of whom live in Maritzburg. Owing to the smallness of the membership, meetings were held at irregular intervals. Business meetings were held for members only, and interested non-members were welcomed at the discussion meetings, most of which were centred on Richard Gregg's book, *The Power of Non-Violence*.

At the Royal Show in June the Section ran a kiosk at which posters were exhibited, books on religion and peace sold, and pamphlets distributed.

Until August, they were able to display posters in the window of the empty store. When this

UNLESS . . .

"We may drive Germany across the Rhine. We may force her to evacuate Warsaw and Prague. We may exact amends for her aggression. We may unseat Hitler and his gang."

"We may do all this, yet, as surely as the night succeeds the day, we shall have to do it all over again in the next twenty years unless we get down to the roots of the troubles of these last twenty years."

—Lord Meston, chairman of the Liberal Party organization.

Peace Terms Declaration: Urgent Need

IN recent weeks the National Peace Council has been endeavouring, through its affiliated organizations, to create a powerful public movement in favour of a precise and constructive statement of peace aims by the British Government, and an announcement on the part of the Government of its willingness to enter into peace discussions aimed at such a settlement.

For this purpose, the Council is inviting local organizations of all kinds to endorse an 'Appeal for a Declaration of Terms of Peace,' fifteen thousand copies of which have already been distributed, and the number of local bodies supporting the Appeal will shortly pass the thousand mark.

In view of the possibility of an "opening-up" of the war at any moment, the Council is anxious to present the appeal to the Government as soon as possible, and a special effort is being made to double the volume of support for the Appeal within the next few weeks. Secretaries of local organizations—Churches, Trade Unions, peace groups, women's guilds, &c.—which have not yet endorsed the Appeal are urged to do so without delay and to secure copies of the document from the National Peace Council at 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

The National Council of the Peace Pledge Union agreed on Sunday to urge all those of its groups which have not yet done so to endorse the appeal.

What Hope for Mankind?

(Continued from page 1)

But there is another fact we have to face. You and I and everyone else crave for power. Living creatures have struggled for power from the beginning of time. We love to get our own way, whatever happens to the other fellow.

Power over others is dangerous and corrupting; it turns us into tyrants, whether we are Hitler or a Peace Pledge Union Group Leader. But power can be shared, we can have power with instead of power over people.

If we are to have peace in the world we must replace domination by shared power. If we face the truth in our own hearts we shall find that though we are constantly wanting to dominate others our truest life is found in sharing power. We have in fact to find our life in the understanding instead of the domination of others.

To face our own prejudices, our own desires to dominate, is difficult and humiliating, but no pacifist who would convince others may shirk the task.

Actually, there is no venture more satisfying than to face up to the whole truth. If men everywhere would make this discovery and act upon it we should soon be well on the way to the new world we desire.

To Save Mankind

But most men and women are not yet prepared to do this: we quarrel and stand upon our tinpot dignities; we shirk the effort to throw over our class and national prejudices. And therefore the commercial scramble goes on and drives us into war, though everybody knows that the white war and the red are destructive both of man's material interests and of his happiness.

Is mankind doomed thus to destroy itself?

No, for there is a way of life for the world, and many human beings have seen it and begun to set their feet upon it. We pacifists, and in fact all men who will respond, are called to the magnificent adventure of pioneering this way of life.

Are you and I prepared to fling our full resources into this effort? If we are, we shall indeed fulfil our destiny, and it may be that our action may suffice to turn the scale by saving mankind from destruction and setting him on the way to life.

Aid for Interned Seamen

To the Editor of "Peace News"

May I appeal through your columns for help for a number of German seamen at present in an internment camp "somewhere in England." These men have all been on merchant boats of non-German nationality since 1933, are all Trade Unionists, and are without personal friends in this country. They are billeted in wooden huts with very little heating, on a bleak coast, and are in urgent need of warm clothing and underclothing.

West Yorkshire Federation of the PPU is collecting for them discarded garments in reasonable condition. Anyone who can help should send parcels to Mr. T. S. Tempest, 10 Cousen Road, Great Horton, Bradford, without delay.

DENIS RILEY,
Secretary, West Yorkshire Federation,
Peace Pledge Union.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Following are further amendments and additions to the lists of Advisory Bureaux for COs already published in *Peace News*. Any similar changes should be sent to the National Advisory Bureaux, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and not to *Peace News*.

Amendments

ASHINGTON: William Lynn, 2 Stakeford Crescent, Choppington, Northumberland.
HAMMERSMITH: J. Challoner Woods, 20 Rivercourt, W.6

Additions

OSWESTRY: J. C. Hamer, 51 Roff Street, Oswestry, Salop.
WILMSLOW: L. Cowan, 15 Dean Drive, Wilmslow, Manchester.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, by "Peace News," Ltd. (Registered Office, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1), and printed for them by Buck Bros & Harding, Ltd. (T.U.), 614, Forest Road, London, E.17



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